

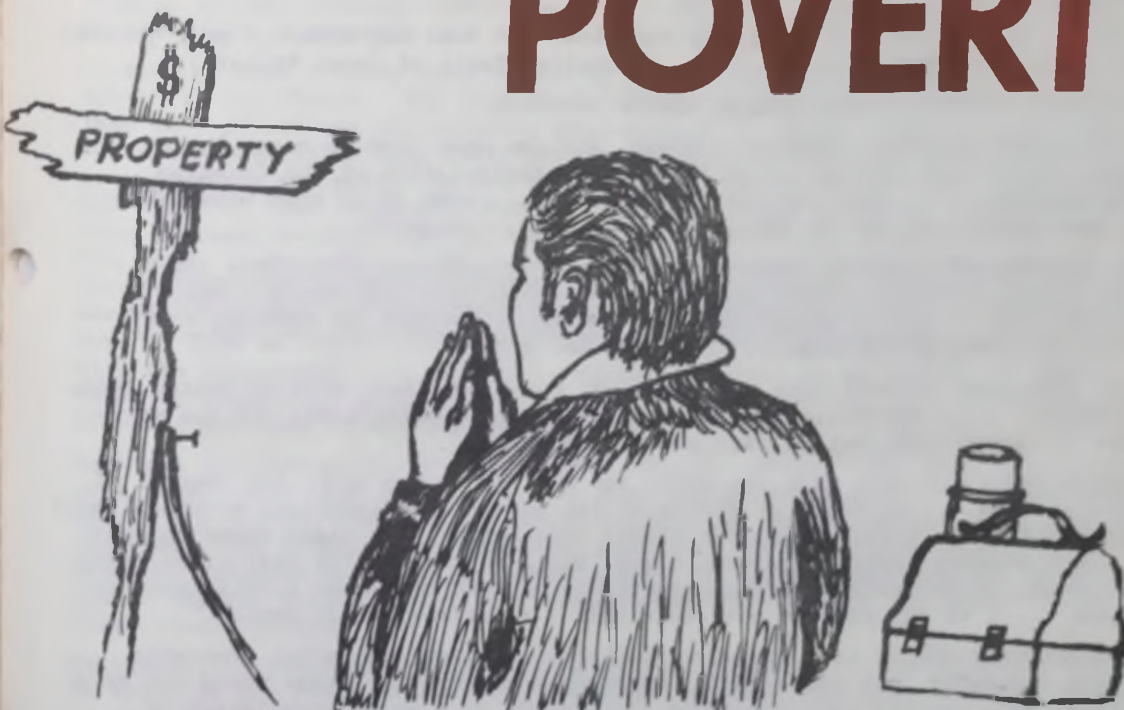
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POVERTY



Our father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; I will not question what thou hast laid down as just and proper. If thou sayest I may protest increases in prices, so be it. If I may object when my wages fall, your word is the last word, and I am grateful that I may resist these increases in my poverty. But lord, I will never, (do you hear me lord?) never, never question the privilege of a few people to monopolize the means of production - - - the sanctity of production of goods for sale for profit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, (Capitalist) world without end. Amen... Amen... Amen...

Also in this issue:

A CRITIC FROM LONDON

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA vs. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA

MINORITY REPORT TO MAN & RESOURCES

Some of our correspondent's words were illegible. But enough has been copied to get his meaning.

A CRITIC FROM LONDON

Editorial Committee,
Dear Comrades,

Forgive me, ' am writing in a hurry, in fact have not read the whole of your journal ... Am not even now a member of the SPGB, (Socialist Party of Great Britain).

But what I have spotted here I simply cannot overlook.

Cut out this kind of stuff which is rubbish, and can only lead to emasculated propaganda, indoor and outdoor -- in fact to me, capitulation of the Canadian Socialist movement..." Also cut out the stuff on ... even if at some time or another it was printed in the SS (Socialist Standard). (Quote):

"When an enlightened majority eventually evolves, it will not dispossess the capitalist class entirely of the means of production. It will merely compel it through political action to share its ownership with the rest of society, etc." - ("Only Slaves Struggle for Rights," Fulcrum, No. 3/73).

In actual fact what is said here is a proposal for a modified, even if dented form of capitalism. A co-ownership (50-50) between the capitalist class and the working class is conceivable but it will all be capitalism.

The revolutionary act (not milk and water act but one backed up by the control of the state and the ... of force or threat of its use by the victorious working class) means DISPOSSESSION of the capitalist class, thus making that class cease to be a class. (Not sharing ownership with a class, but I repeat, making that class cease to be a class, as the working class universally by that act makes itself cease to be a class ...) at any rate in our day within a relatively short period.

The revolutionary act is also a dialectical act, negating capitalist ownership for common ownership, not boulstering capitalist ownership -- that would not be a dialectical act, --- the implication in the article is a vocal repudiation of philosophical Marxism -- dialectical materialism."

Best Wishes,
S. Goldstein.

REPLY

Apologies about the implication, but it is dispensed with in the following two sentences of the article: "This means that the capitalists will end their days as Parasites. They will have to change their status to free and equal citizens with the rest ... who will have free access ... etc." The idea being that they will be dispossessed of their monopoly. That they would not be "sent to Siberia," or hang on in the background, still living off a working class. In short, the ending of classes. (Editorial Committee).

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IT IS STRANGE BUT TRUE. MILLIONS OF INTELLIGENT PEOPLE ARE DOING THINGS DAILY THAT THEY HATE, AND NOT DOING THINGS THEY WOULD LOVE TO DO -- ALL THEIR LIVES, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE FACILITIES FOR HUMAN HAPPINESS EXIST IN GREATER POTENTIAL THAN AT ANY TIME IN HISTORY.

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The situation would not be quite so bad if these people traded their lives for material security. If adequate consumption was a reward for the killing, repetitive routine of wage slavery, there would be a shred of reason behind the sacrifices made on the altar of property and profits. But they have to put up with poverty too.

Poverty is such a dirty word -- too dirty to face, so, George Orwell's "double speak" to the rescue. The problem is solved by changing its name to "affluence". That is, if workers are steadily employed, at a "decent wage", keeping up the payments on necessities that their poverty does not allow them to pay cash for, they are allegedly not poor. In the game of heads buried in the sand "poverty" has taken the place of "destitution". Poverty is the lot only of those "less fortunate" in "our affluent society" who are unemployed, on welfare, sleeping under bridges or in box cars. Sadly to say most workers are more concerned and aware about a slip downward by one rung of the impossible ladder to the clouds inhabited by the rulers of society than they are about the source of the situation itself. Poverty is regarded more or less as being politically inevitable. When governments devalue currency, with the consequent rise of prices, workers respond by agitating for higher money wages or pressuring governments to bring the effect of the dole to normal by increasing pensions or welfare payments etc.

During a depression such as the hungry thirties workers howl for higher wages or more jobs. When they have relatively high paying jobs, with inflated currency pushing prices higher, they cry for lower prices. An investigation might lead to the discovery that poverty is a necessary part of a class divided, profit making society, that the proceeds of a working public cannot be appropriated for the greater expansion of capital without the 9 to 5 class being left holding the empty bag of wages, which equals poverty.

Naturally, by avoiding a solution the problem remains. It was recently revealed that in spite of the prominence of the Watergate scandal, the biggest thing on the minds of the useful class in the U.S. was organic survival in the face of rising prices on necessities for breathing. Poverty (but not the cause of it) even eclipses the threat of nuclear war. A few years ago when U.S. warheads were stored on Northern Vancouver Island, while leftists protested and demonstrated, the main topic of conversation amongst the residents of the area was - Who would win the Irish Sweepstake.

One possible reason for the working class tuning itself out of the realities of capitalism is the illusion of progress. "I didn't have a chance to go to university when I was young but I can afford to send my sons and daughters, therefore we are better off," might be the reasoning, being oblivious to the fact that the whole productive pie is bigger now, while the workers' slice has relatively dwindled. Poverty standards are higher too. For a wage-slave to get a job he has a better chance if he has been university trained to produce more - for the capitalist class.

In an article about "NO MIDDLE CLASS" the Daily Times (Victoria, Oct. 18/73) quoted the Intellectual Digest that, "In 1949 one per cent of the American population owned 21 per cent of the total personal wealth of the country ... in 1969 one per cent of the people owned 40 per cent" (of the wealth). Need more be said?

A writer in the August, 1973 issue of "Socialist Press Bulletin," organ of the Socialist Labor Party of Canada, has criticized the Socialist Party of Canada. His article of criticism is published here in full -- with the Socialist Party of Canada reply following.

SOCIALIST PARTY VS.

By J. Minal

You said in your previous letter that you met a member of the Socialist Party of Canada, who pointed out that a society capable of producing an abundance of goods and services would have no need for a medium of distribution such as the labor voucher, also that the Socialist Party of Canada "does not advocate a society ruled or administered by one group of workers, such as an Industrial Union."

Marx of course foresaw the time, in the higher phase of Socialism, when the labor check, or voucher, with which the worker would withdraw from the common store the equivalent of what he contributed to it, would no longer be necessary, when society would inscribe on its banners the motto, "From each according to his faculties, to each according to his needs." Although the S.L.P. assumes the labor voucher may be necessary for a time in Socialist society, this question will be decided by society itself when the time comes.

The chief reason today why the labor voucher may be temporarily necessary in Socialist society seems to be not so much a matter of production, but what Marx referred to as "the moral and intellectual birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it is issuing." This refers to such things as the feeling of insecurity, the fear of want, the selfishness and avarice, and the tendency of people to grab all they can for themselves when the opportunity arises, fears and attitudes... constantly aggravated by class-divided, conflict-ridden capitalism throughout its history. These habits and tendencies will not disappear entirely the moment Socialism is established.

Economic insecurity and want will disappear under Socialism's production for social use, and so after a time will the fear of these things. People's attitudes and conduct will change in conformity with their new social environment. The desire to accumulate and hoard wealth will disappear. At that time society will be safely able to eliminate the use of the labor voucher---if it is used---and to leave it to people to help themselves to what they require from the social store.

What bona fide Socialists...are concerned with above all else is establishing the administrative framework of Socialism, whereby the people will be able to make this and all other social decisions democratically and in their collective interests. If not, we shall not have to worry either way about the labor voucher. We shall not have Socialism but a continuation of class-divided society and the exploitation of one class by another.

The foundation of Socialist democracy is the social ownership and democratic control of the means of production and distribution. This requires the administrative machinery whereby this democratic control can be put into effect, which can be nothing

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other than the Socialist Industrial Union government advocated by the S.L.P., consisting of administrative bodies elected democratically from the industries and services by, and deriving their authority from, the workers collectively.

This does not mean "a society ruled or administered by one group of workers." It means the collective and democratic management of the industries and services as a whole by all the workers collectively. Every worker will vote for his foreman in his shop unit and (also for) the management committee of his plant (or the equivalent of these industrial sub-divisions in his mine, railroad, hospital, etc.). He will also vote for his representatives in the Local and National Industrial Unions of his industry, Industrial Departments (Manufacture, Construction, Transportation, etc.) and the All-Industry Congress. Thus all workers will be represented and wield equal authority in the administration of the whole economy.

An all-important tenet of Marxism is that the political State is inherently an organ of class rule, "the organized power of one class to suppress another," and that "the existence of the State is inseparable from the existence of slavery." It cannot possibly function as the instrument of democratic industrial control. It will be conquered to be destroyed, and an "administration of things" concerned with the production and distribution of (wealth to satisfy) human needs, instead of a rule over men, will replace it. This will be the function of the Socialist Industrial Union. The State, and political parties including the political party of Labor, the S.L.P., will have no function in Socialist society. The only act for the S.L.P. to perform after its political victory will be to adjourn the State and itself disband.

The program of the S.L.P. teaches the workers to organize, not only on the political field to proclaim their demand for Socialism by the ballot, but also on the industrial field into Socialist Industrial Unions, to fashion the industrial constituencies of Socialism, through which they will enforce their victorious Socialist ballot by assuming the democratic administration of the economy. This program itself is the iron-clad guarantee that the S.L.P., if it took the notion, will not after its political victory take over and perpetuate the bureaucratic State with themselves in control of it.

The Socialist Party of Canada and its companion party in the U.S.A. have frequently criticized and misrepresented the Socialist Industrial Union program of the Socialist Labor Party. It contends, for example, that the idea of industrial representation and the industrial vote is undemocratic and anti-Socialist. It states that, "The needs of humans in a free society...must be determined by society itself, and for that very reason representation will not be based on industry." Socialist society, they say, "is one in which every member of society will have an equal voice and vote in the affairs of society, regardless of whether one is too young, or too

old, or too sick to take any actual part in production."

We know of course that a good many people, because of old age, infirmity, and other reasons, will not be able to participate in industry, or be qualified to have a voice and vote in industrial administration. But the very foundation of Socialist society, without which it cannot exist, is the democratic control of the means of production and distribution. Although everyone cannot, for various reasons, take part in the management of industry, it still must be democratically managed. It is obvious that the ones to exercise this control will be the workers who perform the productive functions in the industries and services. And they cannot exercise this control any other way but through the Socialist Industrial Union. The basic, essential thing therefore where representation and the vote is concerned, will be industrial representation and the industrial vote.

But this does not mean, as the Socialist Party of Canada claims, that these workers will decide the needs of society. This will be carried out by the people as a whole, by means of reports to the Local Industrial Unions. This information will be transmitted to the All-Industry Congress which, on the basis of these reports and information from industry, will calculate society's needs, the working hours required, etc., with production being planned accordingly.

There will also be a general referendum on general social questions on which all adults will have a voice and vote. But the basic thing, upon which the thousands of decisions that have to be made daily throughout the whole of industry, will ultimately depend, and upon which Socialist democracy itself will depend, is the democratic administration of industry through democratic industrial representation and the industrial vote. This is why it is stressed by the S.L.P. and is the basis of its program. It is vitally necessary that the basic industrial vote essential for Socialist economic democracy be clearly distinguished from the political vote of class-divided capitalist society.

The Socialist Party of Canada has no conception of, nor does it attempt to explain, the administrative organs of Socialism which must replace the State. Its so-called Socialist program simply calls upon the workers to organize "consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government...in order that this (State) machinery...may be converted from an instrument of oppression into an agent of emancipation..." (From its declaration of principles). This means for the workers to put the Socialist Party in control of the State, so that the S.P.---who make no attempt to explain how---will "carry out the formal process of liquidating capitalism" and establishing Socialism.

A political party cannot bring about Socialism. For the workers to elect a political party to take over the State, with all its powers of coercion and oppression, particularly when they have no knowledge of what is to be put in its place, would be disastrous for the working class. This is the way, not to Socialism, but to continued and intensified class-ruled society, with all its evils and injustices.

Only the Socialist Labor Party upholds the principles of bona fide Socialism and has a program for establishing it. For the S.L.P. to join forces with these other parties would mean that it would have to compromise its Socialist principles with the anti-Socialist principles of these parties....

The S.L.P. will never sell out the workers in this way. It is "The S.L.P. against the field." The bona fide Socialist is the person who supports the principles and program of the Socialist Labor Party. Her or she belongs with the S.L.P.

SCCIALIST PARTY REPLY

The end of Mr. Minal's second last paragraph is a good point at which to begin the Socialist Party rebuttal -- "... a disagreement not over small issues, but over vital, fundamental issues which mean the difference between achieving a classless (society ...and perpetuating a class divided...class ruled society..." (Indeed, what other kind of rule can there be?)

The Socialist Party of Canada has no quarrel with the Socialist Labor Party of Canada insofar as that organization distributes some Marxist literature and ideas. It is in the vast areas where it remains outside Marxist science that the difference lies between the two parties. There is a contradiction between S.L.P. Marxian quotations and its un-Marxian ideas. It cannot be both Marxist and anti-Marxist. The Socialist Party of Canada contends that the S.L.P. misunderstanding of capitalism is enough to impair its whole outlook. In other words, the working class, acting on S.L.P. ideas would not be capable of establishing Socialist society.

The accumulated evidence, piling up since the U.S. Socialist Labor Party was formed 97 years ago is that it is basically reformist, as opposed to Marxist revolutionary. This has been the case in its early years when it was openly reformist, as it is now that it flashes considerable Marxian phraseology along with the industrial unionism it picked up in 1905. The Canadian S.L.P. follows pretty well in the ideological footsteps of its U.S. father.

There are several abstracted, twisted or historically obsolete Marxian positions that the S.L.P. uses that give it a revolutionary air. One of these, a transitional phase between capitalism and Socialism, suggested by Marx nearly a hundred years ago, is used by the S.L.P. as its "Socialist" objective in 1973. In his "Critique of the Gotha Program" Marx describes "this first phase of Communist society," necessitated by underdevelopment of the productive apparatus at that time, in which the workers would draw from the social store articles of consumption measured by their contribution in labor, expressed in certificates.

This transition period has long been outdated, but aside from that, the S.L.P. uses only parts of Marx's critique, parts that can be made to fit the S.L.P.'s un-Marxian vision of a future society, while ignoring other pertinent sections that clash.

Mr. Binal says that Marx "foresaw" the time ... "when society would inscribe on its banners the motto: 'From each according to his faculties, to each according to his needs.'" He most likely did. Mainly because he advocated that idea as being a basic principle of Socialist society. The SLP does not. It advocates instead, a way point, a transitional period no longer valid in today's world of immense productive potential.

As a writer in a Companion Party journal of ours, (The Socialist Standard) said recently: "On the question of the level of capitalist development, Marx was again somewhat mistaken. He studied the capitalist system largely in relation to the Lancashire textile industry, which was at the heart of the English industrial revolution. Today there appears very little that is modern about the textile industry - it tends to flourish in relatively backward countries, with a predominantly agrarian population. Capitalism, in other words, had certainly not reached its zenith in the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed it had hardly even begun."

In addition to the SLP goal being historically invalid, it misses on another count. Just how are the workers of today going to establish a Marxian goal by aiming for a non-Marxian objective? A system of labor vouchers was not Marx's idea of Socialism even in 1875, no more so than his recommendation for a graduated income tax was in 1848. Marx would be the first one to abandon concepts made obsolete by changes in capitalism's economy, or superstructure, as he did several times during his life. Social Science cannot be rigid. It has to be a changeable thing.

The SLP labor vouchers now, free access later, is maybe a step ahead of the old CCP (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) promise of reforms now, Socialism later, but is still far short of effective political action for Socialism. It seems the SLP has never evolved beyond the bourgeois concept that there should be a working class and it should be paid for what it produces, in the fashion of the theoretical squirmings of the Leninists shortly after 1917. The SLP's fond embrace of Marx's 1875 transition period and labor vouchers is an example of a reform party fitting something with Marx's name on it -- into a continuation of commodity production (production of goods for sale for profit). Something after the fashion of the "Communist" and Social Democrat parties years ago, with state capitalism being their "Marxist" objective while relegating Marx's free access-common ownership to oblivion.

INDUSTRIAL UNION BLUEPRINT - A DENIAL OF COMMON OWNERSHIP

Marx did not devote his life to analyzing capitalism so that the workers of the world could establish a new society burdened by "some of the birthmarks of the old (capitalist) society," as he described his first phase. He did not expose the role of commodities in capitalism, only to have the workers inaugurate a new society restricted by "the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labor" in a system of labor vouchers, as he further described his now outmoded transition period. Neither was his objective limited by "the narrow horizon of bourgeois right," or the "right of inequality," of this phase, dictated by the backward conditions of a hundred years ago.

Marx elaborated further in "The Critique," that "The distribution of the means of consumption at any time is only a consequence of the conditions of production themselves." (class ownership or common ownership) He pointed out the incorrectness of "vulgar Socialism" and the bourgeois economists for their "presentation of Socialism as turning principally on distribution." The SLP goes further away than the

bourgeois economists of a century ago by presenting Socialism as turning principally on administration - e.g. Industrial Union Government. As in the words of Mr. Minal: "What bona fide Socialists ... are concerned with above all else is establishing the administrative framework of Socialism ... If not, we shall not have Socialism..." (Emphasis added). Naturally, with no administrative framework there can be no society, Socialist or otherwise.

But since when is the foundation of a social form determined by its administrative superstructure? This is liberal, idealist thinking from away back. This is in direct contradiction to the Materialist Conception of History of Marx. What real socialists are concerned about "above all else" is the economic foundation of Socialism --- how that foundation differs from the economics of today's undesirable system. This is another indication that the SLP's emphasis is not for a Socialist society at all.

Mr. Minal claims that the Socialist Party of Canada has no detailed blue print of the administrative superstructure of Socialist society. Right. But neither does the SLP -- from two aspects, (1) that no detailed blue print of what world society will need at some indeterminate date in the future is possible at this time, and (2) the SLP's blue print is not for Socialism anyway, because the SLP's achievable goal is not a Socialist society. The word "prescience" alluding to the SLP's patron saint Daniel de Leon, crops up repeatedly in its literature in reference to a blue print. In addition to this idea being a clairvoyant tendency, it is also in keeping with the SLP's elitist conception of a leader guiding the working class along pathways dictated by superior knowledge at the top.

Mr. Minal implies that our failure to have an administrative blue print is an indication of our bid for unconscious working class support. We on the other hand, while denying that charge, would contend that the SLP's emphasis on such a blue print is evidence of the same thing on their part - a bid for unconscious support of the working class. The difference being that we emphasize a scientific understanding of the basics of capitalism, which must come first, which unavoidably must precede the revolving of a new society, whatever its detailed superstructure may be. We can also show that while the SLP waves a clairvoyant superstructure in front of the workers' eyes, its confusion about the basics of capitalism will keep the workers in ignorance about the nature of the system. This is not the way to abolish capitalism.

Of course Mr. Minal is correct when he says: "A political party cannot bring about Socialism." But he cannot protect the SLP's case by mis-representing the Declaration of Principles of the Companion Parties of Socialism, of which the Socialist Party of Canada is one. He quotes in part from No. 7 of the Declaration that the workers must organize "consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government in order that this (state) machinery ... may be converted from an instrument of oppression into an agent of emancipation ..." This Principle clearly says that the working class must do this, whereas Mr. Minal immediately follows this quote with: "This means for the workers to put the Socialist Party in control ..." (Emphasis added). It means nothing of the kind. He misrepresents No. 6 of our Declaration of Principles by changing it to mean Socialist Party control of the state, then he remains silent about principle No. 5, which is situated a fraction of an inch above No. 6 in our journals and which says: "That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself."

In addition to the lack of validity of the industrial union as an administrative blue print of a new social system, the SLP's recommendation of it as an instrument of social power to be used by the working class against the capitalist class for a

change-over, is also divorced from the realities of capitalism as understood by Marx. Mr. Minal quotes a Marxist principle that the state is "the organized power of one class to suppress another," (Emphasis added), but himself says that the state is "an organ of class rule" (emphasis added). Which leaves him room for another alleged organ of class power in addition to the state, that is economic power - industrial unionism, which can purportedly be used by the working class. The fact of the matter says that economic power is not an independent thing, it

is exercised through political power.

"Yet the lords of the land and the lords of capital will always use their Political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labor...To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes." (Karl Marx, Address to the International Working Men's Association). (our emphasis).

The SLP falsely sees two organs of power. Marx and Engels realistically saw only one. But then the SLP sees many things that are not there, while ignoring many things about capitalism that must be recognized to effect working class emancipation.

DANIEL DE LEON: DESTROY THE STATE.

MARX: USE THE STATE

An anarchistic sentiment of state smashing and division of capitalism into allegedly harmless, commune-like segments is visible in the SLP's divisive industrial unionism and immediate destruction of the state ideas. As Mr. Minal says: "It (the state) will be conquered to be destroyed (first) and an 'administration of things'...(industrial unions)...will replace it," (after the state has been destroyed).

The essence here is that with the SLP the state will be destroyed, and the colossus of the real world capitalist economy ignored, while with Marx the state would be used by the working class to bring the international economy into harmony with social needs.

Which leads to another example of the collision (not a synthesis) of the anarcho-syndicalist blue print of the SLP with the world Socialist ideas of Marx in "The Critique of the Gotha Program." Marx describes his transition period (which the SLP calls Socialism) involving the use (not the destruction) of the state:

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

This harmonizes with the SPC contention that the state must be used by the working class to hold the capitalist class at arms length until there is no more capitalist or working class and no more need for a state, or political parties. This job will not take as long as Marx envisaged a hundred years ago.

SLP "REVOLUTION" - A CONSCIOUS MINORITY. MARXIAN REVOLUTION - A CONSCIOUS MAJORITY

The SLP's reformism and support of capitalist ideas is much more concealed by the skillful use of Marxian phraseology than was ever the case with the Social Democratic and "Communist" parties. More diligent sifting of "the wheat from the chaff" is necessary to discover its bourgeois essence. Its concept of revolutionary change for instance is rigidly patterned after capitalist revolutions. The first part of the SLP pamphlet "Revolution," by Olive M. Johnson and Arnold Peterson, (1936) is devoted to illustrating an alleged parallel between the future

workers' revolution and the early U.S. capitalists' revolt against British colonial rule in 1776, with the so-called workers' government replacing the bosses' government. This pamphlet also proudly proclaims the minority or leadership aspect of the Bolshevik take-over for capitalism in Russia in 1917 as an example for workers to follow in the USA. This undemocratic, follow-the-leader motivation pushed by the SLP is specified emphatically by the present national secretary of the U.S. SLP and Daniel de Leon when he says:

"the kind of revolutionary organization de Leon had in mind when he said: '...the thing depends upon the head of the column -- upon that minority that is so intense in its convictions, so soundly based on principles... that it carries the masses with it, ...Such a head of the column must be our Socialist organization.'" ("Crises in America, A Revolution Overdue," by Nathan Karp, emphasis added).

Which is completely opposite to the Marxian and Socialist Party of Canada idea that - "The proletarian movement is the self conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." (Communist Manifesto).

ROMANTIC MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT CAPITALISM

While the SLP talks about educating the workers, the term "agitation" - (leadership,) crops up incessantly in its literature. Its "education" is like its "Marxism," a nice suit of clothes to show off to the working class. Example; "...the active leaders of a revolution are always few almost to the last moment." (Revolution, p. 41). Another common concept is "revolutionary moment," when the working class, agitated by the radicals of the SLP and the terrible conditions of capitalism, will follow the SLP "nucleus" of a new government of the workers --- the workers being motivated by "social thinking" (Revolution, p. 41), as opposed to class consciousness. "Revolutionary psychology," is also a prevalent relevant of the SLP, in addition to "instinct." All of which negate its Marxian pretension of calling for working class understanding of capitalism.

According to their pamphlet "Industrial Unionism" (1935), at the conclusion of World War 1, "...the capitalist governments and the capitalist class found themselves face to face with a more or less revolutionary working class everywhere." In those days, if anything the workers of the world supported capitalism more solidly than they do today. In this light, the nonsense of the above SLP statement is obvious. In the same pamphlet, the SLP rubs it in by saying that "Mussolini had his training in the revolutionary movement of Italy..." (page 65) and that later Mussolini fought the "workers' revolutionary unions" in Italy, (p. 66).

Another aspect of its ignorance of capitalism was its continual harping on the imminent collapse of this system during the hungry thirties --- along with the CCF, and Social Creditors in Canada, and the dictatorial Technocracy advocates who were ready to take over the alleged social leadership vacuum as soon as the expected collapse came.

Marx's Materialist Conception of History has been totally absent also from the SLP's picture of the Russian capitalist revolution. Although its view has improved in recent times, it still cannot connect Russia's "despotic" government to its capitalist economic base. It still examines society from the top down.

The SLP has persisted in a compromising attitude on religion, as being a personal matter of each individual. The capitalist class has never done this. Neither did Marx, in spite of SLP attempts to prove otherwise. Its bourgeois concept of

"Socialism" in one country, puts it politically in the same field as the British Flat Earth Society occupies in astronomy, very sectarian and divorced from today's economic "global village."

In "Fifteen Questions", answered by Daniel de Leon (1943), in a chapter on confiscation, the SLP's great man says: "Much school property is now the property of the nation, hence need not be gotten possession of." (Emphasis added). How about the Post Office, the CN Railway in Canada -- are these all now examples of "collective ownership" by the workers, or "ownership by all the people"? As the writers of a British SLP pamphlet, (Marxism VS. Stalinism, 1950) quoted Engels, "If the taking over of industries by the state is Socialism, then Napoleon who nationalized the tobacco industry in France must count as one of the founders of Socialism."

PATRIOTISM AND REFORMS

No wonder the SLP has to constantly promise, as in the words of Mr. Minal, that industrial unions will be the "iron clad guarantee that the SLP, if it took the notion, will not, after its political victory take over and perpetuate the bureaucratic state with themselves in control of it." We repeat, a clairvoyant blue print, conjured by the "prescience" of de Leon or by anyone else is not an effective substitute for majority awareness of capitalism. There is no shortcut. A politically sophisticated working class is needed to solve its social problems, using for this purpose a political instrument under its conscious control. The SLP does not fill this bill.

Specific reform activity pursued by the U.S. SLP in years gone by -- includes anti-militarism, anti-labor conscription, anti-Fascism and anti-military conscription. On the other hand, Socialists continued their education of the working class in understanding capitalism, which, unbeknown to the SLP is the only effective antidote to the above effects of the system.

Patriotism. Along with the SLP's nationalist goal is a nationalist outlook. Marx said; "the workers have no country." In the U.S. SLP's pamphlet, "The Americanism of Socialism." (which could have been called "The capitalism of Socialism") - by Eric Hass, the expression "our" nation is used twice, and "our" (U.S.) constitution three times. And in a recent election leaflet, the Canadian SLP mention "how the workers of 'our' nation must organize ..."

When Mr. Minal refers to "selfishness and avarice" among "workers" in the SLP version of Socialism, he is providing more evidence of the SLP role of leading the workers into another version of capitalism, in which of course there will have to be a working class, that will have to be moralized to, that will be greedy because of conditions of scarcity. Instead of a conscious majority establishing a classless society of free-access, common ownership abundance, partly because it wants to rid the world of scarcity and greed.

We leave the foregoing ideas to speak for themselves in reply to Minal's protest that the U.S. and Canadian Socialist Parties regard the idea of industrial representation and the industrial vote is undemocratic and anti-Socialist." And that we regard the SLP's goal as falling short of social equality.

The SLP qualifies as a reactionary party opposed to working class interests, in that it urges the workers to struggle for political power for something less than the transfer of ownership from the capitalist class to world society as a whole, (free access). Yes, Mr. Minal was right. There are fundamental differences

differences between his party and the Socialist Party of Canada.

Following Mr. Minal's article of criticism in the SLP journal, one of our members wrote to their headquarters in Toronto, asking them if they would like to publish a reply from us. Their answering letter said, among other things that the SLP had seen nothing in other political parties to cause it to change its mind from the objective it has had for 70 years, of industrial unionism. They declined to indulge in "fruitless debate," or to open the columns of their journal to our rebuttals, or to divert their readers from industrial unionism. Apparently they still like to protect their "rank and file" from outside influences. We can name some openly capitalist parties which will not compare their ideas with those of the Socialist Party of Canada. There is no reason to exempt the SLP from the same reason for this lack of desire for debate -- the fear that their ideas will not stand up. Sorry to say.

J. G. Jenkins.

Note: Back issues of the Western Socialist and The Socialist Standard dealing with the Socialist Labor Party are available upon request.

End of the Road

FRED NEALE

It is with sadness that we record the passing of another old stalwart.

Fred Neale, for some twenty years a member of the World Socialist Party in Los Angeles and Seattle and previously a member of the Socialist Party of Canada in Winnipeg and Vancouver, has been forced out of the struggle after a lengthy and painful illness.

Fred became a member of the Winnipeg Local shortly after the first world war and never lost interest in the work of spreading Socialism. During the interval between the decline of the old S.P. of C. in the 1920s and its reorganization at the beginning of the 1930s he was a one-man distributor of Socialist literature and for part of this time his name and address appeared regularly in the Socialist Standard as a source of copies and subscriptions to that Journal.

Fred was active in the Party's reorganization and its adoption of the Socialist Party of Great Britain's declaration of Principles and became its first Local and Dominion Executive Committee Secretary, offices he held for several years. Through this period he was also a regular soap boxer.

During the second world war he lived for a time in Vancouver and was active there in the Party's work. Later he moved to the United States and became a member of the Los Angeles Local of the W.S.P., sending regular donations to the Western Socialist and helping in its circulation.

To his family in Winnipeg and Seattle, our deepest sympathy. His kind are rare.

Man and Resources was sponsored by the government in 1971 as a vehicle for community interested groups and individuals to study and discuss the problems related to pollution and man's environment. So ostensibly the Provincial conference at Naramata, Sept. 21, 22, 23, was the end result of two years of study.

I was a delegate from the Socialist Party of Canada to the conference, involved in the Citizen Participation division of the Conference. It was a somewhat hopelessly frustrating experience. So dedicated and intense towards reforming the capitalist system were the rest of the delegates that there was scarcely any room to permit any other concept to enter their minds. So naive were the other participants that they did not wish to discuss the practicality of political involvement to accomplish their aims -- No not Socialist political involvement ANY POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT. They seemed to think that all that was necessary was to fill, soon to be forgotten, filing folders with briefs and appeals and somehow the miracle would occur. After a whole day of this purgatory I felt that the only way to salvage something from the time invested was to put in a minority report. Here is a condensation of that report:

At the outset let me reveal those areas of agreement.

Citizen Participation, in common with all the Community Interest Groups, has observed the despoiling of the environment. The effects on flora and fauna as well as just esthetic beauty have been only too well recounted. To repeat them again would be tedious.

This despoiling is repugnant to them. It is repugnant to me. It is repugnant to all of us, no matter to what extent we may agree or disagree that it may threaten the existence of mankind.

The separation of minds with the socialist begins when it comes to an analysis of the causes of these evils. Only occasionally and partly do a few minds meet with the socialist analysis that the root causes of these evils lay in the basis of the present world productive and distributive mode, namely, production for sale, for profit. Thereafter most of the non-socialists skitter off into idealistic ideas about lack of social and ethical values, acquisitiveness and ostentation. At the risk of being called and, I might add, correctly called, a dyed in the wool evolutionary materialist, I must once again put forth the concept that values, ethics, morality, etc., basically arise from the productive and distributive system in which people find themselves. There is not time here to fully enunciate the philosophy of evolutionary materialism. Neither can one hope to completely undo the vicious harm of its opponents who have done such an extensive job of falsifying it as ostentation or acquisitiveness. Sufficient to say that there is material available on the subject on considering what is at stake and it is well worth the investment of a bit of time to investigate its validity.

When it comes to solutions the divorce from the socialist is almost 100% complete.

The non-socialist advocate numerous new laws, reforms, government committees, etc. In short they advocate numerous reforms to the present society. The socialist on the other hand continues his step by step analysis to its conclusion. If, as he has analyzed, it is correct that the causes of mankind's aggrievances can be traced to the present world productive mode of production for sale for profit then that barrier to human happiness and likely even human survival, must be overturned and replaced.

Paradoxically, if I interpret them correctly, what the reformers want is a peaceful harmonious society without waste, war or poverty. And this is also what the socialist wants. Briefly, what they both want is a society that serves mankind. What separates the socialist from the idealism of his reformist counterpart is the socialist's conclusion that the needs of mankind cannot be satisfied by a social order that is motivated to satisfy the cash register. If society is to operate cleanly and harmoniously to satisfy the needs of mankind then its base, the productive and distributive apparatus, must be owned and operated by and in the interest of that mankind it is to serve.

So, while the socialist may be in sympathy with the ideals of the reformers he alleges that so long as the present productive base is retained a desirable social order can never be achieved. The capitalist productive mode will not permit it.

It may seem a bit defensive to debate an imaginary opposition but time and time again after I have made similar addresses some keeper of the faith (usually just before adjournment) makes some crack about it not being so great in Russia or China or Saskatchewan. I have not the power to completely kill this perversion of ideas but I can attempt to, at least, scotch it here today.

In my address I attributed today's evils to the WORLD production for sale society. This was no accident for indeed the whole world, no matter what their government is under the same productive mode. In short, they are capitalist- Russia and China included of course.

After such a heavy, I would like to conclude on a lighter note.

Socialists, I've been told, have no sense of humor. Also they do not make deals with reformers. Today I hope to both attain a sense of humor and make a deal with reformers.

Like most humor, mine arises from something that is a bit sad. When I was a child it was fairly common for parents to threaten their children that the "boogy man" would get them if they weren't good. This was, I think, a terrible thing to do to children.

Now as developed in this report I don't think there is a hope in hell in arriving at a society that we want through these reforms. However as skeptical as I am, I am prepared to give the reformers an added boost. As I said to threaten children with "boogey men" is a terrible thing. But politicians are something else. So go to Ottawa and tell the politicians - "look, here is the world we want and if you don't give it to us those "boogey men" socialists are going to come and establish their crazy wageless, moneyless, free access society". And when even that doesn't work you come back and see us and the Socialist Party of Canada will teach you how it is to be done.

The report might be thought a bit elementary by most socialists but in the light of the level of political maturity of most of the people to whom it was directed it was probably appropriate. Saying that it must be pointed out that on the motion that the report be written-in with the rest of the material to be forwarded to the National Conference a large factor in its success was the arguments of those delegates who took the stand that whether they personally agreed with it or not they felt that the minorities views should be contemplated. In comparison to what Socialists have experienced in the past this is a big step forward in democratic concepts.

Larry Tickner

SOCIALIST		DIRECTORY	
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The victims of the present social system cannot change it until they first understand it. On the right is a group of principles - a capsule analysis of capitalism, and what must be done to change it.

Socialist Party of Canada

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OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Canada holds:

1. That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., lands, factories, railways, etc.), by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.

2. That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

3. That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4. That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

5. That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6. That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of plutocratic privilege.

7. That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon all members of the working class of this country to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.